

ORIGINAL ACTION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AIRGRAM

(Departmental and Foreign Service)

794.00(w)/6-162

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A-997 NO. CONFIDENTIAL

TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE 1962 JUN 4 PM 1 40

INFO : LONDON A-53 , COMUS/J A=283 , CINCPAC A-363  
CINCPACFLT A-UNN , CINCUSARPAC A-UNN , CINCPACAF A-UNN  
DEPARTMENT PASS: CNO, SA, COFSAF, SECDEF, JSC, CIA

FROM : AmEmbassy TOKYO DATE: June 1, 1962

SUBJECT: JOINT WEEKA 22

REF :

## CONTENTS

1. Diet Interpellation on US Troop Movements
2. Three Parties Outline Policy Program as Elections Draw Near
3. Socialist International Declaration of Principles
4. High Altitude Nuclear Test

## POLITICAL

1. Diet Interpellation on US Troop Movements (WEEKA 21, Item 1)

At special sessions of Foreign Affairs Committees both houses of Diet May 25 and 31 ForMin KOSAKA and Defense Agency Director FUJIEDA clarified Government interpretation of US-Japan Security Treaty as it affected movements US forces from Japan. They declared: a) US deployment of troops to Thailand contributed to world peace; b) it was natural for US to move troops from Japan to other areas; c) Security Treaty was for Japan, not solely for US, and if US unable to use Japanese bases Treaty would cease to have meaning; d) American bases in Okinawa necessary and Japan does not wish to render them less useful. In regard to prior consultation clause, Fujieda said it did not apply when forces transferred to other areas before being sent to combat areas, but it would apply if forces merely stopped in Okinawa for refueling or supplies en route combat areas. Kosaka recalled Kishi-Eisenhower understanding that US did not intend to act contrary to Japan's wishes as expressed during prior consultation, and said Japan

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would express objections during such consultation if it seemed appropriate. Kosaka said it would be desirable to convene Security Consultative Committee at appropriate future time, since it had not met in long time, but to do so just now would give impression of involvement in Thai situation. (UNCLASSIFIED)

Comment: Government replied skillfully to interpellations, dispelling much of confusion that had arisen at time deployment to Thailand announced (WEEKA 20, Item 1), but doing so in such a way that it avoided being pinned down to rigid positions, which might later cause difficulty. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

## 2. Three Parties Outline Policy Program as Elections Draw Near

LDP, JSP, and DSP debated policies in panel discussion May 28 sponsored by Sankei Shimbun. Main focus of LDP presentation in foreign policy field was criticism of JSP-Chicom "common enemy" Joint Communique of last January. Both Hirohide ISHIDA, who spoke for LDP in foreign affairs panel, and PriMin IKEDA, who spoke on basic policies, made point that LDP endeavoring develop broad national consensus on major foreign policy issues, but being inhibited by deep rift within Japanese public attributable to extreme pro-Communist position of JSP, "which virtually indistinguishable from Chicoms" (Ikeda). Ishida said LDP condemned breaches of peace regardless of who perpetrated them -- Pathet Lao, HO Chi-minh, or CHIANG Kai-shek--but JSP condemned only "American imperialism". JSP showed itself unable effectively counter this LDP line. On other current foreign policy issues such as Laos and nuclear testing debate more evenly balanced, with LDP attempting take wind from JSP sails by affirming its opposition to Japanese involvement in SEA and to nuclear testing by whatever country for whatever reason, and its desire to expand trade with mainland China, on par with European trading nations. Okinawa came up in context of nuclear issue. LDP appeared considerably weaker on economic panel, with JSP and DSP uniting to attack "failure" of Ikeda's policies as represented by recent price rises. Ikeda took usual self-confident line re economy, all but saying "you have never had it so good", but LDP Policy Board Chairman Kakuei TANAKA fumbled through statistics carrying little conviction. Ikeda took high posture in counterattacking JSP line on Constitution, terming it "presumption" and "deception" of JSP to pretend it must get one-third of Diet seats in order block amendment. As DSP also pointed out, JSP has stated it would itself revise Constitution if it took power. Ikeda took frankly nationalistic line on education, attributing Japan's phenomenal economic progress to sound pre-war education, which now in danger of being warped by leftist Teachers Union.

Panel discussion included exchange between three party chiefs on "low posture" versus "high posture". Ikeda repeated recent line that he is not abandoning "tolerance, patience, and compromise" but there are limits to which compromise can be carried (WEEKA 21, Item 2). (OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

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Comment: Despite current Japanese concern over nuclear testing and tension in Southeast Asia, LDP seems in basically good position on foreign policy program and would be in even better shape if Soviets resumed testing or negotiated settlement reached in Laos. JSP seems confident in attacking Ikeda's economic policies, despite failure of most gloomy economic forecasts to materialize so far. While LDP attack on JSP-Chicom Joint Communique is rather sharp, various policy pronouncements so far provide no indication of drastic change of posture. (CONFIDENTIAL)

### 3. Socialist International Declaration of Principles

Socialist Party (JSP) has decided to abstain on vote for new Declaration of Principles at Oslo Executive Meeting Socialist International June 2 and will not send representative to meeting. Instead, Party has transmitted to International its objections that Declaration emphasizes NATO and fails sufficiently to comprehend role of neutralist policies; recognizes need for defense forces, which "runs counter to Japanese Constitution"; implies that welfare state is only road to socialism; and glosses over opposition to imperialism, while unduly emphasizing opposition to communism. Embassy informed by JSP official first version JSP objections was even sharper in tone but was watered down in recognition many of Party's ideas had been incorporated into Declaration at London International meeting in February. Democratic Socialists (DSP) have sent Ro WATANABE (Chief International Section) and Mitsuro MUTO (Professor Chuo University) to attend Oslo meeting and vote for Declaration. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

Comment: Contrasting positions of JSP and DSP on Declaration should help clarify some of distinctions between policies two parties, obscured by JSP's low posture in Diet in recent months, and further identify DSP as conforming with mainstream European Socialism. Doubtful, however, whether developments at Oslo will appreciably assist DSP in coming Upper House elections inasmuch as little interest has been shown in Japan in past meetings of International. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

### 4. High Altitude Nuclear Test

FonOff May 31 protested US announcement of high altitude nuclear test to be held over Johnston Island June 1, demanding compensation for losses to aircraft and shipping, and informed Embassy that Ambassador ASAKAI had been instructed to protest to Department, emphasizing request for 96 hours advance notice of such tests. Most papers gave relatively low-key frontpage coverage to FonOff protest, and some carried background article based on alert notice issued by Cabinet's Radioactivity Countermeasures Headquarters, on probable

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disruption to Japanese air and sea transportation as well as Pacific communications. No comment in any papers to date. (UNCLASSIFIED)

Comment: Japanese reaction to Johnston test thus far quite moderate, in keeping with waning of intensity of protests over nuclear issue. Earlier announcements that such tests would be held sometime in future probably also helped. (OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

  
REISCHAUER

  
ALSeeligmann:mjc  
DLOsborn  
RCCollins

POL:JGoodyear  
DLOsborn  


USIS:IIzenberg  
ArmAtt:LtColRFRobens  
NavAtt:CdrWNMorgan  
AirAtt:MajEFerwin

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ORIGIN/ACTION

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OSD 16	USIA 8	NSA-3

NSC-2 PAC-7

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# AIRGRAM

(Departmental and Foreign Service)

794.00(W)/6-862

A-1023

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TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1962 JUN 11 PM 1 24

INFO : LONDON A-54, COMUS/J A-288, CINCPAC A-370, CINCPACFLT A-UNN, CINCUSARPAC A-UNN, CINCUSARPAC A-UNN, CINCUSARPAC A-UNN

ADDA-10 DEPARTMENT PASS: CNO, SA, COFSAF, SECDEF, JSC, CIA

FROM : AmEmbassy TOKYO

DATE: June 8, 1962

SUBJECT: JOINT WEEKA 23

REF :

1. Candidates Register for Upper House Election
2. LDP Rejects JSP Bid for Joint Declaration on Nuclear Armaments
3. Japan-Korea
4. Korea Repatriation
5. ILO Convention 87
6. JMSDF Training Squadron Departs

## POLITICAL

### 1. Candidates Register for Upper House Election

Official campaign period for July 1 Upper House elections opened June 7, and by close of day almost all of candidates expected to run had registered and taken to hustings. At stake are 127 seats out of 250: 50 six-year seats in national constituency, 75 six-year seats in prefecture-wide constituencies of 1 to 4 seats each, and 2 three-year seats to fill vacancies (1 in national constituency and 1 in Tokyo). Thanks largely to emergence of Democratic Socialists (DSP), number of candidates, listed below, is slightly higher in local constituencies than in last election in 1959 (figures for which given in parentheses); number independents sharply reduced.

	National Constituency	Local Constituencies	Total
Liberal Democratic Party	40 (36)	61 (65)	101 (101)

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	<u>National Constituency</u>	<u>Local Constituencies</u>	<u>Total</u>
Socialist Party	19 (25)	50 (53)	69 (78)
Democratic Socialist Party	5	19	24
Doshikai (conservative- independents)	5 (5)	1 (7)	6 (12)
Communist Party	2 (2)	45 (34)	47 (36)
Independent and Minor Party (Soka Gakkai)	29 (54)	38 (49)	67 (103)
Total	100 (122)	214 (208)	314 (330)

As result relatively good showing by LDP in 1959 compared with 1956, Party has smaller percentage of seats at stake, i.e. larger proportion of holdovers, than Socialists. Accordingly, if same number of Liberal Democrats (71) returned as in 1959, it would mean increase of 5 over present strength of 137; conversely, if JSP returns only as many candidates as it has holdovers, it would suffer loss of 7 seats. Soka Gakkai religious group, which elected all six candidates in 1959, this time running nine candidates (7 in national constituency, 1 each in Tokyo and Osaka).

Actual campaign has been underway for many months prior to official registration, would-be candidates and their parties having attempted to sew up organization vote, which is especially important in national constituency. No single issue dominates campaign: LDP has lost no opportunity to criticize JSP-ChiCom Joint Communique (which termed "American imperialism" common enemy of Japan and Communist China), and has emphasized economic progress under Ikeda; JSP has pointed up shortcomings administration economic policies and has appealed for votes to give it one-third bloc of seats and be in position prevent Constitutional revision (even though Ikeda has publicly announced he has no thought of revision in near future) (see WEEKA 22, Item 2). (OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

Comment: At outset campaign, no major changes foreseen in party strengths as result of election, with exception DSP, which may lose 3-6 of 9 seats at stake and lose its status as third largest Upper House group. LDP stands to gain a few seats, JSP may lose a few, and Soka Gakkai will probably return 8 or 9 of its candidates. Although JCP running candidates in all prefectures but one, and two in national constituency, it is believed to have little chance of returning more than two or three in all. While magnitude Upper House changes likely to be small, a good LDP showing will assist Ikeda in calling own tune in Cabinet reorganization to follow election for LDP President (now set for July 14). (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

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## 2. LDP Rejects JSP Bid for Joint Declaration on Nuclear Armaments

LDP SecGen Shigesaburo MAEO June 6 rejected proposal of JSP SecGen Saburo EDA for bi-partisan declaration that Japan would forever refrain from nuclear armament. In rejecting bid Maeo told Eda GOJ must not lose sight of problem that would be posed by ChiCom acquisition nuclear armaments, and should not tie its hands by proposed declaration. Eda rejoined that this showed LDP readiness to contemplate possibility of nuclear armaments in Japan in future, depending on developments, and has declared intention to exploit issue during Upper House elections. (UNCLASSIFIED)

Comment: LDP decision reject bid probably does not herald radical shift in GOJ public position, or in standard LDP line that it too is opposed to nuclear armaments for Japan. Decision doubtless in part politically motivated; JSP bid was campaign tactic, and LDP could not accede without being put in "me too" position; also, Maeo's reference to danger of ChiCom acquisition of nuclear weapons neatly points up inconsistencies in JSP talk of nuclear free zone. Nevertheless, LDP rejection represents considered position taken after consultation with FonOff, and goes beyond mere political expediency, in direction of more responsible appreciation of world realities. JSP may try to pursue issue further in Diet session after elections. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

## 3. Japan-Korea

ROK Ambassador PAE used June 6 meeting with Japanese Chief delegate SUGI and FonOff Asian Affairs Bureau Director ISEKI to urge earliest possible GOJ commitment to high-level political negotiations and was told Japanese political schedule for July precluded early decision. Meeting agreed, however, on necessity of preparatory conversations in Seoul or Tokyo, and Pae suggested Iseki visit Seoul for this purpose since ROKG unable reverse negative decision on URABE Mission (WEEKA 21, Item 3). In discussing importance of maintaining tolerable climate for negotiations, Sugi stressed unhelpful effect ROK's recent fishing boat seizures in Rhee Line area (incident May 30 brought ROK's score to 5 boats captured in May). (CONFIDENTIAL)

Comment: Since FonOff handicapped by inability make major decisions on Korean policy before formation new Cabinet, Urabe Mission had been envisaged as useful stopgap measure to conduct quiet talks in Seoul on formula for eventual financial settlement. Iseki considered too prominent a negotiator to visit Seoul during Japanese election period but he uniquely qualified conduct confidential, preparatory talks before next political conference and GOJ may conceivably decide send him to Seoul in latter half of July. (CONFIDENTIAL)

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4. Korean Repatriation

In view substantial completion North Korean repatriation movement, GOJ and Japan Red Cross (JRC) have decided against further renewal of mass repatriation arrangements when Calcutta Agreement expires November 12. Since small numbers of Koreans may still wish leave Japan, JRC will probably be asked during consultations with North Korean Red Cross in August work out some arrangement for residual repatriation. FonOff estimates North Koreans may not mount massive campaign for unconditioned renewal of Calcutta Agreement but expects Communists will at least press for elaborate terminal measures objectionable to ROK. Roughly 76,000 or ten percent of Japan's Korean community have gone to North Korea. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Comment: None.

5. ILO Convention 87

ILO Governing Body June 1, while recognizing progress made, again expressed regret over GOJ failure to ratify Convention 87, and recommended that legislation be given priority consideration in next Diet and that GOJ not arrest or discipline GOJ employees for union activities. LabMin FUKUNAGA expressed "dissatisfaction" with recommendations, but said GOJ plans introduce legislation at next Diet session.

LDP-Sohyo negotiations on Convention 87 and related domestic labor legislation have broken off after making substantial progress. Latest ILO recommendations reinforced suspicions of more conservative LDP members that ratification of Convention may permit strikes by government workers and aroused resentment these elements that ILO "interfering in domestic matters". (OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

Comment: Recommendations probably diminished rather than enhanced chances for early ratification. While GOJ may submit Convention to Fall Diet session, unlikely that intra-LDP and LDP-Sohyo differences can be resolved in time to ensure passage. (OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

MILITARY

Navy

6. JMSDF Training Squadron Departs

Annual training cruise of JMSDF Training Squadron departed Tokyo June 8, 1962. This year, for first time since WWII, Squadron will visit Australia and New Zealand. Squadron will also visit Guam; Noumea, New Caledonia; and Suva,

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Fiji. Four destroyers and 1,170 officers, trainees, and men, under command of Rear Admiral Noboru NAGAI, JMSDF, comprise Squadron. Flagship is JDS Terusuki. (UNCLASSIFIED)

Comment: JMSDF is worried about public reaction to first postwar visit of Japanese naval units to Australia and New Zealand, which experienced threat of WWII aggressions of Japanese. (OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

Army: Negative

Air: Negative

  
REISCHAUER

  
ALSeligmann:mjc  
DLOsborn  
WHGleysteen

POL:JGoodyear  
DLOsborn  
LabAtt:UAStraus  
(Item 5)  
NavAtt:LtColRBCrossman  
(Item 6)

USIS:IIzenberg  
ArmAtt:LtColRCDoctor  
ArmAtt:LtColFSMcArthur  
NavAtt:LtColCrossman  
AirAtt:MajAFErwin

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ORIGIN/ACTION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AIRGRAM

(Departmental and Foreign Service)

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A-1042

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TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INFO : LONDON A-56, COMUS/J A-293, CINC PAC A-375, CINC PACFLT UNN, CINCUSARPAC UNN, CINC PACAF UNN

DEPARTMENT PASS: CNO, SA, GOFSA, SECRET DIS, BRANCH

FROM : AmEmbassy TOKYO

DATE: June 15, 1962

SUBJECT: JOINT WEEKA 24

REF :

## CONTENTS

1. Okinawa
2. Japanese Welcome Laotian Agreement
3. Socialists Propose to Discuss Seaweed Gathering and Siberian Development During Moscow Visit

## POLITICAL

1. Okinawa

met

Ambassador/FonMin KOSAKA June 12 in well publicized session which GOJ conceived as "opening ceremony" for US-Japan talks foreseen in President's statement on Okinawa. Nine-member GOJ survey mission headed by Hisao KODAIRA (DirGen Primin Office) expected leave for Naha today to prepare for negotiations with US re expanded Japanese assistance for Okinawa's economic development and social welfare. Both events given heavy play in all news media; editorials, while not critical, pointed to many difficulties involved in negotiations and remained somewhat skeptical of outcome. Some papers predicted survey mission will be given cool treatment by US. Appointment Dr. Shannon McCUNE as Civil Administrator received front-page headlines in press and was subject of wide and generally favorable comment in editorials and columns. (CONFIDENTIAL)

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Comment: McCune designation, together with departure of GOJ group, will help restore atmosphere of progress and counter impression which has gained currency locally that US dragging feet on implementation of new Okinawan policy. (CONFIDENTIAL)

2. Japanese Welcome Laotian Agreement

Press commentary unanimous in approving agreement among Laotian Princes, while cautioning against optimism in view of unsolved problems such as integration armed forces. Editorials leading papers urged great powers to guarantee Laotian neutrality, Mainichi suggesting that creation of neutralist zone, including Cambodia and Burma as well as Laos, would contribute to relaxation East-West tensions. Editorials also urged US and USSR to back up coalition regime with economic assistance. Sankei column said recent Laotian developments showed America was determined prevent further advance of communism, even if risks involved, and USSR will not go so far as to invite danger world war.

Agreement welcomed by FonMin KOSAKA, who told press he hoped Princes would work out differences and cooperate for economic development their country. Socialist Party, though deprived of political capital they had doubtless hoped to gain through agitation of issue of US deployment to Thailand, could hardly object to development which accorded with Party's concept of "positive neutrality", hurried off telegram of congratulations to PriMin PHOUA. (UNCLASSIFIED)

Comment: None

3. Socialists Propose to Discuss Seaweed Gathering and Siberian Development During Moscow Visit

Embassy informed by Socialist Party (JSP) official that mission to Moscow disarmament conference next month, headed by Education and Propaganda Bureau Chief Isamu AKAMATSU, hopes to raise question of "safe-fishing" for kombu (a kind of seaweed) in vicinity Russian-held Habomai and Shikotan Islands (just off northeastern Hokkaido), as well as possibilities Siberian development, instead of usual Party tactic of discussing peace treaty, territorial questions, etc. On trip to Hokkaido June 8 Sohyo SecGen Akira IWAI announced Sohyo would take lead in forming committee of democratic organizations to appeal to Moscow to permit kombu gathering; same idea broached in general terms by JSP ex-Chairman Mosaburo SUZUKI later in week. In Kanazawa (on Japan Sea coast, facing USSR), Akamatsu June 13 said JSP would push project for Japanese cooperation in Siberian development, which had prospect of leading to \$1 billion annual trade with USSR. JSP official said he did not expect fruitful results from discussions either fisheries or trade.

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
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
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Proposal re kombu has origin in suggestion made during Japan-Soviet fishery talks (WEEK 19, Item 3) by Tatsunosuke TAKASAKI, head of Japanese delegation, to permit Japanese fishermen gathering kombu in return for payment of fees. Agricultural Minister KONO on return from Moscow reported Soviets receptive to plan, but eight kombu ships have been seized since opening season May 20. Subsequent soundings through Japanese Embassy Moscow have confirmed negative Soviet attitude. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Comment: Natural that Socialists would not wish to be outdone by conservatives in appealing on sensitive local issue in Hokkaido. Doubtful, however, whether Sohyo or JSP would succeed where Takasaki and Kono failed in obtaining authorization for fishing operations off Habomai and Shikotan; USSR likely to continue use offer of safe-fishing this area as pressure to induce Japanese to sign peace treaty without having claims recognized to any part of Kuriles. Re Siberian development, JSP likely to run into competition from high-level Japanese industry group, which plans visit to USSR in August, and which in far better position than JSP to deliver goods. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

REISCHAUER

ALS: mann:mjc  
WHG:leysteen

POL:JGoodyear  
DLO: born  


USIS:Ilzenberg  
ArmAtt:LtColFSMcArthur  
NavAtt:LtColCrossman

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ORIGIN/ACTION

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**AIRGRAM**

(Departmental and Foreign Service)

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TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INFO : LONDON A-57, COMUS/J A-297, CINCPAC A-379, CINCPACFLT UNN, CINCUSARPAC UNN, CINGPACAF UNN

DEPARTMENT PASS: CND, SA, COFSAT, SECRETARY, SECTION

FROM : AmEmbassy TOKYO

DATE: June 22, 1962

SUBJECT: JOINT WEEKA 25

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Army fou SA-1  
NAVY fou CND-1

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1. Upper House Election Campaign Enters Last Lap
2. LDP Vice President Hints at Deal with FUJIYAMA
3. University Administrative Reform Looms as Political Issue
4. GOJ Survey Team's Visit to Okinawa
5. Japan's UN Ambassador to Tour Africa
6. Chosen Soren Demonstrations
7. Second High-Altitude Test Failure

POLITICAL

1. Upper House Election Campaign Enters Last Lap (WEEKA 23, Item 1)

Public continues to manifest little interest in issues or outcome of July 1 Upper House election. Registration of candidacies closed June 16, with total, 328, almost same as 330 who ran in last election in 1959 (only changes compared with first day's registrations reported ref WEEKA were withdrawal of one Liberal Democratic (LDP) candidate in national constituency and addition of 15 independent and minor party candidates).

Survey taken by generally accurate Asahi of probable outcome for 127 seats at stake as of June 11-12 gave LDP 70 plus-or-minus 5; Socialists 35  $\pm$  5; Democratic Socialists 4  $\pm$  2; Doshikai 3  $\pm$  1; Communists 2  $\pm$  1; and Independents 13  $\pm$  3, of whom 8 or 9 accounted for by Soka Gakkai. Mainichi reporter told Embassy his newspaper's preliminary

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soundings agreed except that Socialists would win closer to 40 seats. Recognizing that high turnout would favor conservatives, opposition parties have charged that get-out-vote movement sponsored by Government is device to aid LDP. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

Comment: Survey by Embassy in conjunction with Consulates in close agreement with Asahi predictions as amended by Mainichi. With all indications more emphasis being placed on organization and personalities than on policies, difficult to read into campaign to date much significance in terms of major national or international issues. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

2. LDP Vice President Hints at Deal with FUJIYAMA

Bamboku ONO created minor sensation by his statement at Fukui June 18 in which he appeared to be offering to support Economic Planning Agency Director Aichiro FUJIYAMA as PriMin IKEDA's eventual successor, on condition that Fujiyama refrain from challenging Ikeda at July 14 LDP elections. Ono also expressed opinion Ikeda should not pay too much attention to Party "strong-men" in forming his new cabinet after July 14. As one of the "strong-men" involved, Ono demonstrated his sincerity by promising to resign as LDP Vice President. (UNCLASSIFIED)

Comment: Source close to Ono says he has offered to support Fujiyama for LDP Presidency in 1963, if Ikeda can be persuaded to resign in mid-term. Fujiyama reportedly noncommittal. Same source says Ono actually has no intention of resigning, but has merely executed shrewd maneuver to enhance his voice in cabinet formation and other political dealing by putting Ikeda in his debt. Other sources speculate that Ono motivated primarily by desire to block MITI Minister Eisaku SATO, who is being pushed harder than ever for eventual succession to Ikeda (and for Foreign Minister in new Cabinet) by former PriMin Shigeru YOSHIDA following latter's return from trip to Washington and Europe. Despite all this ferment, Ikeda still seems virtually certain of re-election July 14. (CONFIDENTIAL)

3. University Administrative Reform Looms as Political Issue

Last fall Central Education Deliberation Council (CEDC), advisory organ to Education Ministry, established special committee under chairmanship Tatsuo MORITO (President Hiroshima University and former Education Minister) to make recommendations on changes in administration of national universities. Without waiting for Committee's report, PriMin IKEDA in opening speech of Upper House election campaign May 25 declared there was need to reconsider present administrative system; in subsequent campaign speeches, at least in traditionally conservative areas, he emphasized need for controls "to prevent universities from continuing as hotbed of radicalism." Socialist Party SecGen Iida has accused Government of moving in direction prewar reactionary control over education.

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On June 20, Morito outlined to session of National University Presidents Association principal recommendations in his draft report, including proposals to clarify authority of university presidents, standardize procedures for selecting presidents and deans (reducing power of rank-and-file teachers), and restrict activities of faculty meetings to purely educational matters. Morito's report will not be submitted to CEDC for approval until July, but opposition movement already under way among faculty and student groups at number of national universities. (OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

Comment: Present loose university administrative procedures have tempted teachers, including would-be candidates for university president, dean, etc., to take positions on political as well as educational issues, which they believe to be popular with students as well as faculty; students in turn have come to believe they have right to voice in university administration. Move for reform gained support when school authorities failed to check student excesses during anti-Security Treaty demonstrations. At same time suggestion of even small measure of increased Education Ministry control is certain to raise storm of protest on campuses and in Diet re infringement on freedom of inquiry, autonomy of universities, etc. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

#### 4. GOJ Survey Team's Visit to Okinawa

Local news media have closely followed reception accorded GOJ Survey Team in Okinawa by US authorities and activities undertaken by team members during current visit. Press reported GOJ team has restricted its inquiries to economic assistance, avoiding political questions, and gave initial impression talks with HICOM proceeding smoothly in cordial atmosphere. Later in week press carried reports alleging GOJ team dissatisfied because HICOM not sufficiently forthcoming in description intended US contribution to 5-year economic development plan but that US side had agreed provide additional details at Survey Team leader KODAIRA's request. (UNCLASSIFIED)

Comment: Press reports of Survey Team dissatisfaction have somewhat lessened initial optimism over talks but FonOff member of Team has cabled that reports completely unfounded and FonOff is endeavoring to counter critical reaction. (CONFIDENTIAL)

#### 5. Japan's UN Ambassador to Tour Africa

Tentative plans have been made for Japanese Ambassador to UN Katsuo OKAZAKI to make official visits to western and central African states beginning in mid-July. Okazaki also plans to make unofficial stops in South Africa, Rhodesia and possibly in UAR and Saudi Arabia. Following tour, Okazaki will return to Tokyo where assessment will be made of his election chances for Presidency of next UNGA. (UNCLASSIFIED)

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Comment: FonCff informed Embassy Okazaki trip is result of his special interest in Middle East and African area and not directly connected with his possible candidacy for UNGA President. Trip, however, will bring Okazaki into direct contact with governments which might form essential nucleus of Afro-Asian support for his candidacy, and will enable him gain clearer idea of his chances of election. (CONFIDENTIAL)

6. Chosen Soren Demonstrations

Chosen Soren (pro-North Korean residents' league) has stepped up nuisance visits of demonstrators to Embassy and Consulates over past week, mustering 500 on June 20 who scuffled with police in attempt to approach Embassy. Large Tokyo gathering for June 21 was cancelled by Chosen Soren leadership. More demonstrations will probably be held over weekend, building up to June 25, twelfth anniversary of Korean War, when meeting at Hibiya may draw over 3,000 demonstrators if Japan-Korea Society (Nitcho Kyokai) participates. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

Comment: Current difficulties in ROK (especially SOFA negotiations and thief-beating incident) appear to have given boost to customary June intensification of Chosen Soren's activities. Police should have no trouble controlling demonstrators, who are not expected to depart from their noisy but non-violent tactics. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

PSYCHOLOGICAL

7. Second High-Altitude Test Failure

Japanese press frontpaged second failure and postponement of Johnston Island high-altitude tests. Press avoided sensationalizing incident and comment thus far has generally focused on straightforward explanation of purpose of tests and unexpectedly poor performance of Thor rocket. Yomiuri column indicated tests regarded by US as too crucial to call off now, adding that Soviets would "inevitably" follow suit. Sankei editorial June 22, however, went somewhat further, appealing to US and Soviet leaders to have courage to end tests, which tend to undermine western civilization and threaten existence of all mankind. (UNCLASSIFIED)

Comment: Doubtful that press reaction fully reflects concern felt by Japanese public over second failure. Protest groups calling at Embassy over past few days have emphasized fears of "runaway nuclear rockets" and mere notion of "high-altitude" tests generates exaggerated fears of consequences, which have been multiplied by criticisms from British scientists and others. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

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MILITARY

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ALSeligmann:mjc  
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JSSutterlin  
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POL:JGoodyear  
DLOsborn

USIS:IIzenberg  
NavAtt:LtColCrossman  
AirAtt:MajAFErwin  
ArmAtt:MajRHBeck

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ORIGIN/ACTION

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OSD	USIA	NSA
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AIRGRAM

(Departmental and Foreign Service)

794.00(W)/C-2962

A- 1071 NO. CONFIDENTIAL

TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1962 JUL 2 AM 10 56

INFO : LONDON A-58, COMUS/J A-300, CINCPAC A-383,  
CINCPACFLT A-UNN, CINCUSARPAC A-UNN, CINCPACAF A-UNN

DEPARTMENT PASS: CNO, SA, COFSAF, SECDEF, SECSTATE, USIA, USN

FROM : AmEmbassy TOKYO

DATE: June 29, 1962

SUBJECT: JOINT WEEKA 26

REF :

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2. LDP Looks Ahead to Presidential Election, Cabinet Reshuffle
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7. JDA Vice Minister to Visit US
8. GSEDF Unit to be Stationed on Tsushima Island
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## POLITICAL

### 1. Upper House Elections

In closing days of election campaign leaders of major parties have devoted energies to whirlwind tours of prefectures where outcome most in doubt. With little public interest being expressed in campaign issues other than rising prices, Socialists (JSP) June 26 sent nine-point open questionnaire to Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) demanding clarification attitude on such questions in addition to price issue as constitutional revision, declaration of Japan as nuclear-free zone in perpetuity, education policy, ROK talks, etc. Although LDP leaders noted positions these questions had repeatedly been stated in past, Party prepared reply June 28 in which it asked JSP to respect results of election and cooper-

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Drafted by: See last page.

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ate with LDP, if latter returned as majority party, in regard to basic foreign policy, defense, and education questions. Among points made by LDP: 1) Government has no intention revising Constitution pending report by Constitution Investigation Council and indication full support of people. On other hand, JSP has spoken of drafting a "socialist constitution" when it comes to power; 2) Inasmuch as intention not to bring nuclear weapons into Japan has been made abundantly clear in Diet, instead of exploiting issue for partisan advantage, JSP should ask Communist China to renounce nuclears; 3) Natural to restore relations with ROC as soon as possible, regardless of type government; 4) As JSP itself has acknowledged in past, there is need for additional security legislation to preserve democratic order; 5) Rising prices are attributable primarily to increased industrial wages; 6) There is need for administrative reforms in universities.

Predictions by major dailies in past week show following range election results: LDP 69-73; JSP 35-39; DSP 2-4; Doshikai 2-4; JCP 1-2; Independents 11-13 (of whom 9 Soka Gakkai). (OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

Comment: Apart from relative standing parties in Diet and policy questions, election has other important implications. PriMin IKEDA hopes LDP will win more than 70 seats in order enhance his ability to control Party and call tune in reorganizing administration (Item 2). For JSP magic figure is 40 seats, any number above which would be taken by SecGen EDA as endorsement structural reform policy and his continuation in post (Chairman Kawakami, while campaigning vigorously, remains largely figurehead with little influence on policy). For DSP, anything over 4 seats would be pleasant surprise and offer some encouragement to hold together until next general elections. For JCP, running more candidates in local constituencies than in any previous election, contest is clearly regarded as opportunity to solidify Party organization. For all parties, election, especially in local constituencies, seen as test for next year's local elections for governors, prefectural assemblymen, etc.

LDP reply to JSP questionnaire should assist Party in countering any subsequent charges that it has failed to receive mandate for its positions on questions concerned. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

## 2. LDP Looks Ahead to Presidential Election, Cabinet Reshuffle

In unlikely event LDP won fewer than, say, 65 seats in July 1 election (Item 1), defeat would hurt Ikeda's prestige and ability control Party. Major potential rival in July 14 LDP presidential election, Aichiro FUJIYAMA, accordingly withholding final decision re his candidacy until after July 1 elections. Anti-Ikeda reform group (Party Style Renovation Conference) June 28 declared it "absolutely opposed" to Ikeda's re-election without ballot and might support

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own candidate; Embassy informed PSRC's attitude to be further clarified after election, when it plans issue appeal to Party membership for (among other reforms) casting of blank ballots if Ikeda runs unopposed. Element of uncertainty re presidential election has not, however, deterred other LDP figures from public pronouncements about July 14 election and Cabinet reshuffle to follow. LDP Vice President Bamboku ONO's statement last week (WEEKA 25, Item 2) followed June 25 by one from LDP SecGen Shigesaburo MAEO (Ikeda man) and another by Ono June 28. Both agree that Fujiyama should not (and probably will not) run, but they differ on conduct of July 14 election and kind of cabinet Ikeda should form. Ono continues prefer re-election of Ikeda by acclamation, while Maero expresses grudging willingness to see write-in ballots cast, even if Ikeda unopposed. Ono prefers sweeping cabinet reshuffle with Eisaku SATO and Fujiyama both given top Party jobs, while Maero favors retaining "strongman" cabinet lineup, with extensive shake-up of lower ranking cabinet members. (OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

Comment: If LDP scores substantial Upper House election victory, PSRC will be only minor nuisance, but large number of blank ballots on July 14 could hurt Ikeda's prestige. However, LDP by-laws permit both write-in candidates and blank ballots (Ikeda himself was one of 76 members who cast blank ballots against HATOYAMA in 1955), so Maero evidently feels unable categorically oppose reformers' demand. Outlines of cabinet still far from set, but as Maero's statement indicates, Ikeda would like keep present strong-man lineup, with possible exception of shifting Fujiyama to Party post. Sato seems more likely to be kept on as MITI, or even given Foreign Ministry rather than put in Party job (as Ono suggests); he has held all important Party jobs in past, and unlikely to want repeat. As of now, given current election outlook, Ikeda seems likely to have his way. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

### 3. Taiwan Straits

Japanese have assessed ChiCom military build-up in Taiwan Straits as primarily defensive or deterrent measure against Taiwan moves. Although not flatly ruling out more sinister ChiCom motive, FonOff informed us they believe ChiNat activity had become too pronounced to be ignored by ChiComs whose suspicions undoubtedly reinforced by general sense of insecurity accompanying failure internal policies. Public comment has interpreted situation in much the same manner. Editorials in major papers have expressed hope US will restrain ChiNat activity and have called on ChiComs to avoid playing with fire.

Sudden departure from Yokosuka on June 22 of Seventh Fleet units, including carrier Coral Sea, was treated prominently by press which linked departures with Taiwan Straits situation and raised question whether movements should have been subject prior consultation between US and GOJ under Security Treaty. JSP tried exploit development by demanding "nuclear" Seventh Fleet be denied Japanese facilities. After determining there had been no public US announcement re

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departures, FonOff took position that GOJ had been informed, that movements were routine, and that they did not involve "prior consultation". (CONFIDENTIAL)

Comment: While not alarmed, Japanese have watched situation closely and displayed some anxiety about possible involvement through Security Treaty. US ~~public relations~~ special effort to keep GOJ informed have helped head off sensationalism. (CONFIDENTIAL)

4. KODAIRA Terms Okinawa Visit of GOJ Survey Team Successful

On returning from Okinawa June 23, Director General of PriMin's Office Hisao Kodaira told press and later reported separately to PriMin IKEDA and to Cabinet that visit of GOJ Survey Team to Okinawa proceeded smoothly, and that HICOM had extended full cooperation. Kodaira announced that with HICOM's approval further GOJ technical missions would go to Okinawa in July and that GOJ hoped present its views on US five-year Okinawan development plan in August. PriMin expressed satisfaction with success of visit and his personal appreciation for assistance rendered GOJ team by HICOM. Press gave prominent coverage to Kodaira's return and has commented editorially that in view many complexities Okinawan problem, visit of GOJ team went surprisingly well and appears mark real beginning of US-GOJ cooperation in aiding Okinawan residents. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Comment: GOJ obviously pleased by positive impression conveyed by team's visit. PriMin told Kodaira he felt Socialist opposition had been effectively deprived of grounds to attack GOJ Okinawan policy during current election campaign. GOJ reassured by cooperative and flexible attitude shown by HICOM that US prepared proceed in spirit President's March 19 statement. Care shown by Kodaira to avoid involvement political issues and keep focus on GOJ economic assistance appears to indicate GOJ will abide by ground rules established by US for forthcoming Okinawan negotiations. (CONFIDENTIAL)

5. Zengakuren Students Convicted of 1960 Excesses

Tokyo District Court June 27 sentenced 15 Zengakuren members to terms ranging from three months to one year, with stays of execution from one to five years, for role in 1960 anti-Security Treaty demonstrations. Defendants, including then Zengakuren SecGen Takeo SHIMIZU, led student riots before Diet on May 20, 23, and 26, and broke into PriMin's official residence May 20 and June 3. Court rejected plea that they acted in defense of Constitution and found them guilty of conducting unauthorized demonstrations, trespassing, obstructing performance of police duties, and violating Tokyo Public Security Ordinance. (UNCLASSIFIED)

Comment: Current sentences follow pattern of relative leniency set in previous trials of 1960 rioters. Without meting out overly severe sentences

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that would create martyrs, court decisions have underscored importance of rule of law and rejected claim that Constitutional rights are basis for exercise of political violence. Three more cases, including HAGERTY incident, still to come to trial. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

6. PrMin Ikeda to Visit Great Britain

Invitation has been extended by Great Britain for PrMin Ikeda to pay visit in mid-November, at which time he is expected to visit other European countries as well. Announcement of invitation was not to have been made until after Ikeda's re-election as LDP President, but FonOff leaked report to press. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

Comment: British extended invitation after former PrMin YOSHIDA informed British Govt during recent London visit that Ikeda would like to visit England this fall. Visit will compensate for continued inability of PrMin MACMILLAN to make long promised trip to Japan. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

MILITARY

Army - Navy - Air

7. JDA Vice Minister to Visit US

Administrative Vice Minister Muneo TOGA, Japan Defense Agency (JDA) will accept <sup>Deputy</sup>SECDEF's invitation for US visit July 30, 1962. (OFFICIAL USE ONLY)

Comment: None.

Army

8. GSDF Unit to be Stationed on Tsushima Island

JDA announced June 22 one GSDF infantry company will be stationed Izuhara, Tsushima Island, Nagasaki Prefecture by August 15, 1962. First ground unit stationed there in postwar period, unit is currently part of 41st Infantry Regiment, 4th Division (Western Army), Camp Beppu, Cita Prefecture. Item part of announcement further reorganizations under programmed 13-division structure scheduled for completion August 15, 1962. (UNCLASSIFIED)

Comment: GSDF source states transfer announcement deliberately made during Diet recess and as part of planned reorganization in order not to attract unnecessary attention. Strategic and tactical importance of Korea Strait of great

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concern to both MSDF and GSDF. MSDF radar already installed Tsushima and planned for Iki Island in near future (Ref. ALUSNA Tokyo IR 30-S-61). While infantry company is no more than token representation of GSDF, it is significant that since initial widespread coverage in both vernacular and English-language press following announcement there has been no evidence of attempts by opposition parties to exploit move. (CONFIDENTIAL)

Navy

9. Extensive Changes in MSDF Flag Officers

Effective July 1, fairly extensive changes will take place in MSDF Flag Officer assignments with 6 captains promoted to flag rank, one flag officer retiring, and 7 transfers. Other changes yet to come according to official Maritime Staff source. (UNCLASSIFIED)

Comment: Changes, while extensive, appear to be only routine annual transfers and promotions. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE)

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ALSeligmann:mjc  
DLOsborn  
JSSutterlin  
WHGleysteen  
RCCollins

PCL:JGGoodyear

ArmAtt:LtColFSMCArthur  
(Items 7 and 8)

NavAtt:LtColCrossman  
(Item 9)

USIS:IIzenberg  
ArmAtt:LtColFSMCArthur  
NavAtt:LtColCrossman

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